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fibers served for tying purposes in the construction of houses. Today they are used in making baskets.

Gourds

White gourds, *hue* (*Lagenaria vulgaris*), were among the plants seen by the Spaniards in the fields of Easter Island (90, p. 123). They did not escape the attention of Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 288), though Forster failed to notice them.

The gourds, which fifty years ago grew wild over the island, were once abundant, but they seem to have disappeared entirely. Some of the graves we opened contained fragments of gourds in rather bad condition.

I assume that there was only one variety of gourd on Easter Island. The names that Knoche (123, p. 118) gives as varieties of calabashes are actually names of something quite different. The word *hipu* means container and applies of course to the gourds which were the only containers used by the natives. *Pakahara* means the shell of anything, but especially of a gourd. *Moutini* are pumpkins which have been introduced, probably from Tahiti where they have the same name.

Gourds were of two kinds. The round ones were used as containers for small things and the elongated ones were for water. Large calabashes in which the natives kept clothes, soaked mulberry bark, or boiled potatoes were called *kaha*.

Paper Mulberry

Paper mulberry trees, *mahute* (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), were raised in the enclosures found near the ancient villages, according to informants. These enclosures, some of which may also have been used for banana trees (fig. 2),

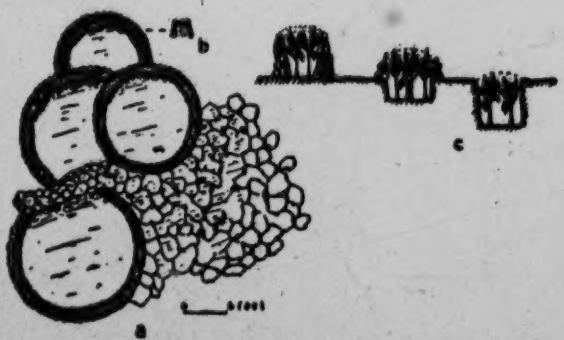

FIGURE 2.—Cultivation enclosures: *a*, enclosure near Vai-tarai-kai-ua; *b*, cross section of wall construction of enclosure shown in *a*; *c*, three types of enclosure in section, scale 1:200 (from Skottsberg, 208, vol. 1, fig. 2).

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To catch needle fish (*ihe*) the Marquesans had a special net of the same type as that used for flying fish. It was a small bag fixed to the arms of a fork lashed to a pole (142, p. 400). It is possible that the description of the *kupenga ihe* given by my informant is inaccurate and that the Easter Island *kupenga ihe* was like the Marquesan. However, in the Tuamotus the needle fish are caught in traps, hence we may assume that set nets could be used for the same purpose.

Fish Spears

Spears used by modern natives are of European manufacture. It is impossible to determine whether a spear is old or has been introduced by Tahitian settlers. When Roussel (190, p. 355) landed on Easter Island in 1866, some of the natives were armed with European harpoons. Modern spears are from 3 to 5 meters long and belong to two types, one a simple spear with an iron point, the other with a compound point working on the principle of a fish gorge. The fisherman dives, his eyes protected by glasses, and pierces fish that swim within his reach.

Turtle Watchtowers

Turtles were watched for from turtle watchtowers (*tupa*) along the shore near ancient settlements.

One tower at La Pérouse Bay (pl. 2, *B*) is 3 meters high and the diameter of its base is about 7 meters. The entrance is 80 cm. high and 1.10 meters broad. The interior of the building consists of big, unhewn stones, well laid. Inside they project gradually until they are spanned by slabs forming a crude corbeled vault. The largest tower is situated between La Pérouse and ahu Mahatua, near ahu Vai-mangeo. The tower has a kind of wing containing an inner chamber.

The *tupa* of ahu Akapu, seen by Cook and his party (83, vol. 1, p. 570) and accurately described by Bernizet (130, vol. 2, p. 254), is still in fairly good condition. Its construction is similar to that of the tower at La Pérouse. The interior chamber is 24 feet long by 6 feet wide and 7 feet high in the center. The walls are 4 feet thick and the door is 2 feet high by 2 feet wide.

Thomson (215, p. 484) and Routledge (194, p. 218) were told that these towers were lookout stations whence the movements of turtles and fish could be watched, and I was given the same explanation. Skottsberg (208, vol. 1, p. 12) was puzzled by the importance of the towers with their lower apartments, which are in no reasonable proportion to the purpose for which they were built. Though they are along the shore, these towers do not give the watchers any better view of the sea than any near-by hill. There are no such towers on the south coast; on the north they are few—I know of only five. In the Tuamotus and Hawaii, watchers sat at certain points along the coast to signal the arrival of turtles or fish. Heaps of stones served as elevations. The *tupa* of Easter Island were probably most similar to the Hawaiian fishermen's shrines (*ko'a*), which were terraces of stone. On some of them stood

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225 a house where the priest slept in order to learn the issue of a projected fishing party or to have revealed by a god the presence of a shoal of fish.

●349 There is nothing in the *tupa* to facilitate access to the top of the tower, which is not a very comfortable place. The vaulted chamber inside suggests no practical purpose, since a cave or shelter would have been quite sufficient for the watchers, whose homes stood near the tower. Turtles were not, even then, common on Easter Island, where the climate is too cold for them and where there are only a few sandy beaches.

Eel Snaring

226 To catch eels (*koreha-puhi, koreha-tapatea, koreha-haoko, koreha-toko-*
227 *ari, koreha-mingo, koreha-ruma*), the natives use a snare (*here-koreha*) made of two sticks, generally 50 or 60 cm. long.

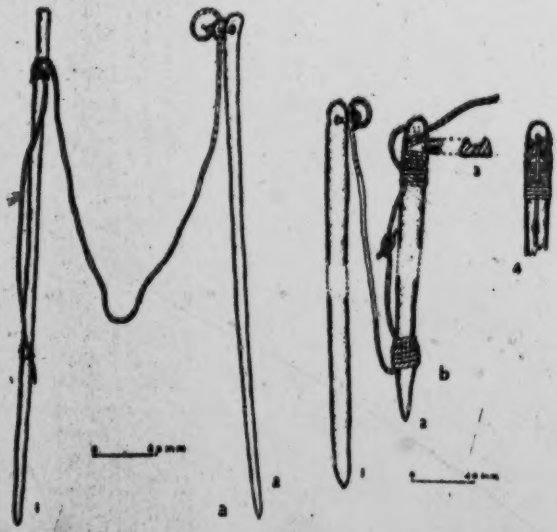

Figure 14.—Eel snares. *a*, snare collected by Geiseler in 1884 (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Berlin, VI.4922); 1, bait stick 622 mm. long; 2, stick with noose 640 mm. long; *b*, ancient snare (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Berlin, VI.4880): 1, stick with noose 245 mm. long; 2, bait stick 310 mm. long; 3, black stone; 4, lateral view of bait stick.

The thicker end of one of the sticks is perforated and a cord passes through the hole and is tied to the stick with a knot. The cord then passes between the knot and the stick to form a noose and the end of the cord is tied to the other stick (fig. 14). Bait is attached to the second stick while the one with the loop remains in the water perfectly still. The eels are caught along the shore. When an eel is attracted by the bait, the fisherman pushes the stick with the noose toward it so that to reach the bait the eel

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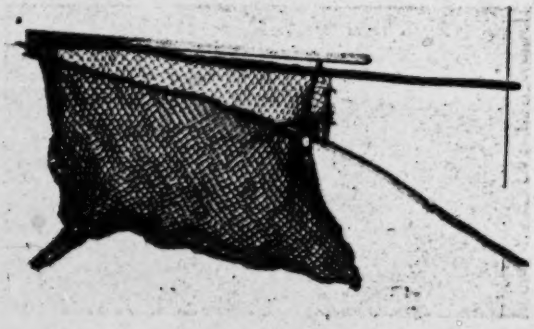

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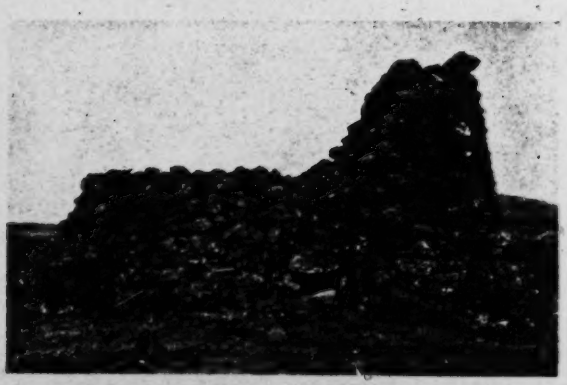

B

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C

A, DOUBLE-HANDLED DIP NET, BAG 76 CM. DEEP, 140 CM. LONG, MESHES 2 CM. WIDE, POLES 149 AND 161 CM. LONG (MUS. F. VOLKERKUNDE, BERLIN, VI.4962); *B*, TURTLE WATCHTOWER (TUPA) NEAR LA PEROUSE; *C*, REED MAT (MUS. F. VOLKERKUNDE, BERLIN, VI.4970).

[End plate II]